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137 cleared for native gardens, some is still virgin, being distinguished by the presence of giant trees with spreading flanges or buttresses. The forest presents an infinite variety, with this important characteristic, that the variety is for ever repeating itself, so that a man who requires any particular product usually has not far to seek.

137 With few exceptions the trees are soft-woods, and these
313 supply easy material for canoes and much of the house-
[411] building. One or two varieties of hard-woods are used for spears, but these weapons as well as the wooden 'sword' are usually made from the tough and springy *Koropa* palm.
137 Other palms provide the slats used in flooring; and the
314 pandanus, most useful of all, is valued for its fibre which is twisted into rope, and for its broad leaves which are sewn together to form the sleeping mat. One variety is prized
[262] for its fruit, a long red seed-cluster, which is boiled down to a porridge.

137 One of the greatest natural assets of the Orokaiva is his
313 sago. In the interior the palm is comparatively rare and each tree is carefully husbanded, but along the lower reaches of the rivers, where they are bordered by swamps of very great extent, the sago grows in a quantity which, as far as native wants are concerned, is probably inexhaustible. As a diet it
[262] is secondary to the taro, but among the river-dwellers at least it provides an unfailing resource in times of scarcity. The sago leaf thatches the house, and the midrib nowadays commonly forms the walls of the house. In the dismal swamps of the coast the *Nipa* palm furnishes another material for thatching, and the mangrove one of the most adaptable of native timbers.

137 Comparatively few fruit-bearing trees are found in the
262 bush. The only exceptions of much consequence are the several varieties of bread-fruit, the *Okari* nut, and the tree called *Puga*. Mangoes are uncommon and of inferior quality, and of the numerous varieties of wild fig only one or two may be called edible. But there are numerous herbs, ferns, and tree leaves which always lend variety to Orokaiva cookery, and when scarcity prevails at the height of the South-East season may even become a stand-by. Indeed,

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the various natural resources of the bush would probably enable the native to tide over a period in which the taro gardens failed completely.

Such clothing as he wears is made by beating out the bark of a *ficus* tree; his belt is plaited with thin strips of cane; his pipe is a tube of bamboo; his cheeks are streaked with a red paint obtained from a seed; his ready-made luggage-strap or the mooring cable for his canoe is a creeper withe or a length of rattan cane. These are only a few of the uses to which the Orokaiva, true forest-dweller that he is, may put the multifarious products of his environment. One cannot fail to be impressed by his wonderful familiarity with the forest—so perplexing to one who is not a woodsman—and with his extempore skill and resource in turning all its products to account.

Wide areas of the plain—though still but a small proportion of its total extent—are covered with *alang alang*, or long grass. The apparent spread of these grass patches, and the corresponding deforestation have caused the Government some anxiety. As yet, however, this aspect of the matter has made no appeal to the native. The grass patch, entirely unproductive as it is, and almost invincible to cultivation, yet provides an annual supply of game when it is burnt off by the hunting party. It seems, indeed, as if the grass were regarded in the light of a special asset to its owners.

Fauna

Of the wild animals which these burnings drive into the nets of the hunters most important is *sus papuensis*, that fierce long-legged animal which abounds throughout Papua. But there is an unclassified multitude of marsupials ranging downwards in size from the wallaby, all of which are welcome to the Orokaiva, who despises no meat that comes his way. Of the tree-climbing marsupials the most notable is the cuscus, with beautifully dappled fur of white, yellow, and brown, which is cut into strips and worn in long streamers from the armlet of the warrior; and in the hills a larger animal, the tree-kangaroo, whose rich brown fur is used for the same purpose. Most beautiful of all is the

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241 clearing and protects it more or less effectively against the bush-pigs. Until the whole circuit of this fence is completed it is necessary for some people to live temporarily in the garden, where a smoking fire and an occasional shout are sufficient to scare away the intruders. Sometimes a man will lie in wait by moonlight hoping to spear a pig among his taro, which is a dangerous game and results in many casualties. The various traps and snares which are meant for pigs and others spoliators of the garden will be described under Hunting.

There is little to say concerning the harvesting. A woman gathers from time to time enough for her family's immediate wants, and the taro tops will be replanted. There are thus a number of plots at different stages of advancement in every woman's garden. Sometimes, however, when all the gardens of a clan are well stocked, there will be a simultaneous harvesting to furnish forth a feast. The products of the garden are then loaded ostentatiously upon platforms in the village before their final distribution to the guests.

251 [784] Coco-nuts are placed under a tabu when a large feast is pending and, as they fall, are accumulated in long lines on the ground, or else strung to poles set up as a tall pyramid in the centre of the village. In the southern part of the division yams are kept in a *harasi* or yam-house, the actual repository being a small dark attic under the gabled roof, while the lower story, merely a raised platform, is used as a sitting-place. Only two other methods of food-storage are worth mentioning. *Tauga* nuts are strung together on poles and suspended over the house fires, where they become black and dry; and *Puga* nuts are concealed in holes in creeks, where the moving water in the course of several months purges away their poisonous properties.

Hunting

224 262 Although hunting is only a secondary phase of the food quest, the hunter is distinguished by some skill and ingenuity, by a remarkable keenness for meat, and by a very sensible catholicity of taste. Bush-pigs, wallabies—of the bush and of the grass-lands—rats, birds, lizards, frogs, and

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224 snakes are all pursued with eagerness. If any kind of food
262 is debarred it is more often because of some magico-religious tabu than through a feeling of aversion.

224 *Individual Hunting.* When an individual travels in the bush he goes armed with his spear and followed by his dog so as to lose no opportunities. As the floods are subsiding the villagers will prowl about, a man and his wife together, with a fair certainty of bagging some small game which has been driven out of its shelter; and if they can do no better the woman will, at least, succeed in catching frogs.

If his dog puts up a bush-pig a man will not hesitate to attack it single-handed. He will even do so in the perilous uncertainty of the moonlight. The strength and fierceness of the bush-boar, with his tusks ground to continual sharpness, make him no mean enemy, and argue considerable pluck on the part of the individual hunter. Even concerted hunts are not without danger. An old man named Tumai relates how, during a pig-drive (while the river Opi was in flood and the pigs more or less cut off), he speared one of these animals as it rushed into the net. The spear broke and the pig, disengaging itself from the net, 'looked about as if to say, who speared me?' Concluding rightly that it was Tumai it turned upon him, ripped first one thigh, then the other, then his chest, then his knee. (The scars remain on the old man's body as proud evidence of his adventure.) It was at this stage that his son came to the rescue, only to be bowled over in his turn. But now Tumai, despite his four wounds, threw himself bodily upon the pig, and the son was enabled to get to his feet and kill it. Such incidents are common enough. There is no denying that the bush-pig is a formidable beast and the Orokaiva a fearless hunter.

Concerted Hunting. There are two principal methods of concerted hunting. One is the drive through the bush towards a pig-net; the other is that of the grass-burning.

[286] The pig-net (*monga*) is strongly made of pandanus fibre.
224 The mesh is about four inches wide; the net stands about
773 four feet high; and each section may be twenty yards long. It is propped up by a series of stakes (*tetere*). Formerly these stakes were the only means of holding up the net, and it was

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of the climbing palm is tied to a long pole. These trailers are armed with sharp recurved thorns, and the bat-snarer takes his stand beside a banana or pawpaw tree, the scene of the animal's nightly depredations. One sweep of the *asora* at the right moment, and the flapping wings are caught in the hooks.

In the caves near Ioma it is, I believe, only necessary to go in and lay about with a stick and the bats may be slaughtered wholesale. Unappetizing as they seem to ourselves, they are welcome enough as food to a native who is perforce mainly vegetarian.

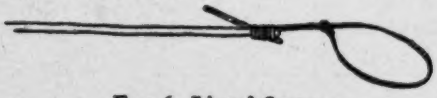

FIG. 6. Lizard Snare.

The large monitor lizard, besides being eaten, serves another useful purpose in furnishing the skin for the drum. If a native catch sight of one, he will leave whatever he is at in order to give chase. The lizard takes to a tree for refuge and the native hastily improvises the special implement required for the occasion. This is a light pole with a running noose of some fairly stiff material, such as split cane, attached to the extremity, and a hook made by binding on a small stick obliquely. He now climbs the tree after the lizard, hanging his pole by means of the hook to any convenient projection as he ascends. When within range he stretches out to noose his victim, which constantly moves to the far side of the branch on which it has taken refuge, only to be driven round again by sticks, stones, and shouts from those who are standing below. Finally the lizard stands as if mesmerized and permits the noose to be gently slipped over its slowly waving head. It seems bent on going forward to escape and the noose tightens hopelessly round its neck or middle.

Having dealt with various methods of snaring animals and birds from *sus papuensis*, the wild boar, downwards, I may conclude by describing two methods of catching the domestic fly. Incidentally it was almost with surprise, con-

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227 In the more usual method the hook is made of sago thorns or those of the plant called *sinegi* (apparently a kind of palm). The line is first threaded through an earthworm by means of a thin sharp sliver. Then three thorns (about 1 inch long) are bound together by means of the line itself and thrust into the worm so that the points project upwards, and thus

FIG. 12. Worm Bait and Hook.

constitute a hook. Line fishing is done by hand and the bait is allowed to dangle in the water.

226 *Poisoning.* The last, but not the least important, of fishing methods is that of poisoning, which is practised by all tribes in the inland creeks and pools. The poison is usually [278] obtained from the vine *Anisi* (*Kanesi*, *Ainsi*), a variety of derris; though certain other poisonous plants with the native names *Ondoto*, *Pogera*, and *Imanya* are used, as well as the recently introduced chilli. Water is bailed out of the pool or sometimes run off by means of a race or gutter, and when it is sufficiently shallow the root of the *Anisi* is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.

Sago Making

252 Among the River People sago is a never-failing food ● 262 supply, for on the lower reaches of the rivers large tracts of swamps are, I believe, not even explored by the natives, and their resources are but lightly tapped. Inland, where it [423] is comparatively rare, trees are definitely owned and husbanded. Sago, however, is not a favourite food with the Orokaiva, and it is for the most part when his taro gives out that he resorts to it; and since this is likely to be in the midst of a partial drought, when the swamps themselves may have

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252 dried up, the sago-maker's work, which requires a good
262 supply of water, is not always easy.

The branches or fronds—often armed with the sharpest of thorns—being lopped from the selected tree, the leaves are spread on the swampy ground to make a temporary floor. The broad spathes are peeled off and the tree is felled. Next a section of bark is prised off and the sago-maker, taking his seat astride the trunk, proceeds to use his scraper (*evai*), which is hafted on to a forked branch so as to form a hammer-shaped implement. (The point of the hammer is slightly cupped and hardened in fire.) He accompanies his rhythmical strokes with strange ejaculations and musical cries, *eyeveyeyeyeye, o-dego-o-o-o-o o-deg-o-o-o-o*, and such-like, of which he cannot give any explanation. The pith is transferred from time to time to the trough at which another man is working. The apparatus is shown on Plate XII (*a*).

252 The kneading trough (*a*) (*beo*) is made of a sago branch,
447 so also are the settling troughs (*b*) (*ingi-gau*) placed end to end
412 and carefully adjusted. The narrow ends of these may be raised or lowered, and any leaks are stopped with leaves. The sago pith is kneaded in (*a*) and constantly watered. The real sago is carried down in suspension by the water, and passing through the two strainers at (*c*) and (*d*) settles in the trough. The first strainer, made of coco-nut fibre, is called *usisi*; the second, merely a bunch of sago leaves, is called *kuoro*. If the trough is too shallow its edges are raised by sago leaflets fastened on as if with clothes-pegs. An ingenious water-scoop (*gopiri*) is made from a sheet of sago spathe. The harder surface is chopped away until only a thin leathery sheet remains. This is doubled and bound into the cleft of a sago midrib, and any leaks are patched with leaves. The supports or props for the troughs are often made of sections of the sago midrib, so that it is interesting to note how the whole apparatus, with the exception of the scraper (*evai*) and the coco-nut-fibre strainer (*usisi*) may be fashioned from the sago palm itself.

252 The sago soon settles in the settling trough, forming a pulpy mass. When the kneading is finished the water is run off and the mass of sago is pressed and pounded into

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252 lumps of the requisite size. These are rapidly singed in a fire of dry leaves and so acquire a brown glazed surface, a sort of tough skin which preserves the interior against moisture. The work is now finished. The glazed lump of sago is neatly bound with sago leaves, packed into the hollow of a sago branch, and carried home. Under favourable conditions two or three men will easily make 100 lb. in a day.

Collecting

222 The Orokaiva is a collector only by necessity or opportunity. When a prolonged drought in the South-East season causes a scarcity of food, collecting assumes importance, and a reduced diet must be eked out with roots, leaves, and fern fronds. While it is only under such stress that he collects systematically, he nevertheless keeps his eye open at all times for chance blessings when he is working or travelling. For tearing down betel pepper (*bingi*) or the [412] somewhat rare fruits of the bush he will tie a pair of poles together and bind on a small oblique peg at the end to make a hook. This crude improvisation called *kainpo* may have a reach of 30 feet. The native is, moreover, a nimble and daring climber. If, however, neither his *kainpo* nor his climbing are equal to the occasion, he will fell a large tree for the sake of a little honey or even a nest of edible insects.

• [262] Frogs, snails, and fresh-water bivalves are collected by the humbler hands of women, but not in any quantity; they amount to nothing more than savouries.

Domesticated Animals

231 *The Pig.* The village pig and the wild pig are of the same species, the latter being continually domesticated. When a wild sucking-pig is captured by hunters, it is brought to the village and gradually tamed. Its roving and lawless nature may be restrained by the constant companionship of a long stick tied to its hind leg; it is fed and petted, its ears are snipped, it is castrated, and finally becomes as nearly domesticated as any other native pig. It is accustomed to forage about the village and to roam the neighbouring bush,

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look after them. They discard all ornaments, but it seems, nowadays at least, to be a matter of indifference whether or no they wear a *bo*. They must not wash, and it is said to be the proper thing to keep the house warm by a fire underneath; though this, I believe, is not meant as a trial to the initiates, but rather to make them comfortable. Whenever they please they may exercise themselves in the *sama* enclosure, and occasionally they go farther afield in the bush.

Chinnery and Beaver give a number of rules and precepts which the children are supposed to learn in their seclusion;[1] and I have been told that during this period they are instructed to be honest, obliging, and diligent. But we must not picture the *sama* enclosure as a severe school of tribal morals. It is certain that the initiates live a thoroughly indolent and easy life, doing no work save the plaiting of armlets and such tasks, in which there is more of amusement than labour. Their hardest task is that of learning to play the flutes (*sepiri*, *inagu*, or *gauro*), and it is said that the duration of their seclusion will be regulated by the skill which the school attains: the sooner they learn, the sooner they come out. But there is no doubt that the regulating factor is really the supply of food for the feast.

The method of playing these flutes has already been described (p. 89). It may be added that of the pair, which are invariably played in duet, one is called the male (*sianja*) and the other the female (*buega*). In Divina Kovari the former was called *sepiri* and the latter *inagu*; in Wasida, where *inagu* was a general term for 'flute', the male was called *otobu*, and the female *eb*. There seems to be no essential difference between the two save one of pitch.

While engaged in these very easy occupations the initiates are eating heartily, one might almost say deliberately battening. There is no restriction in the variety of their food, though it is served to them, not by their womenfolk who cook it, but by some old men who frequent the *sama* enclosure. It is the duty especially of the candidate's *nobo* and his wife (the candidate's *tata*) to ration him during seclusion.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 76.

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called *kari* in the right. When all is in readiness the women deftly slice off a piece of the taro, and with one motion send the fragment and the peeler across the head of the initiate to fall at the feet of the man waiting behind. The latter immediately smashes the peeler with his stick. This, I am informed, is a formal way of ending the tabu on the mother's cooking. Formerly, it appears, the cooking for the *ebamei* has not been done by his mother but by his *tata*;[1] henceforward after this rite his mother may cook for him without risk of any kind. It is said that this rite is once more a safeguard against baldness, the idea of which an Orokaiva so heartily hates. In other parts there is the custom of breaking a coco-nut above the initiate's head and allowing the fluid to fall over him; and for this the same reason (somewhat often called into service) is given, viz. that of preventing baldness.

But the partial fast of the initiates does not come to an end with the performance of this *ate-ate* ceremony. They are merely allowed to remove the heavier of their ornaments, a relief for which they must be heartily grateful. They continue to eat nothing more than banana and sugar-cane, and are still denied water until on the following day they eat the *suna*.

By this time all the guests have dispersed, carrying with them their presents of food, and the village is left very untidy indeed after the feasting, but in comparative quiet. The eating of the *suna* is a rite which pertains only to the initiates and their fellow villagers. The *suna* itself is a stew, a highly composite dish of which the ingredients seem to vary in different tribes. At Divina Kovari they were taro, pig flesh, *Tanga* nuts (*Terminalia Okari*), the fruit of the tree *Puga*, *Ina* (a kind of *andropogon*), and the leaves of the trees *Ega*, *Houra*, and *Sigoga*, and of the croton *simbiri*. The whole is stewed with the addition of coco-nut oil and pig's blood. I have been unable to discover any magical significance in any of these ingredients: except for the leaves, they are all

[1] Though other informants have said that the mother does cook for her own son while secluded. The matter is evidently of no great consequence, and the prohibition of the mother's cooking is not universal.

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881 common articles of diet. Comparing five lists made in different parts of the Division, I find that they all contain 262 taro, pig, and coco-nut in common; three contain *Puga* and *Tanga*; two bread-fruit and a kind of banana; while the other ingredients are various, with the exception of *simbiri*, or croton, which occurs in four of the five lists.

881 The initiates gather round the dish of *suna* and bend over it so as to be fumigated by the rising steam. They hold their 264 hands in the steam, and then withdrawing them massage their joints. They take handfuls of the hot leaves and apply 783 them to their private parts, their hip-joints, their elbows, their arm-pits, &c. They end by eating the stew. The other villagers stand by, themselves partaking and sponging their bodies with the leaves. The *suna* is sometimes set out in a wooden dish (*teva*) and a hot stone placed in it to increase the volume of steam, while the initiates stooping over the dish may be covered with pandanus mats to give them something like a Turkish bath.

After partaking of the *suna* the initiate is at liberty to resume his full diet. (During the last two or three days he has eaten nothing but banana and sugar-cane.) But even so he must be cautious. Before passing him a piece of taro one of the elders will pass it under his legs—a queer precaution which appears again and again in Orokaiva ceremonies, either as a purification or as a prophylaxis. Having thus received the taro, the hungry initiate must nibble it only and put it aside for a while. Furthermore, he must not handle it, but convey it to his mouth on a piece of stick as a fork. If [826] he should handle it and afterwards scratch his head the penalty would be the severe one of baldness.

Meaning and Purpose of the Ceremonies

881 *Initiation.* The actual occurrences of the initiation cycle having been described we are now in a position to discuss their meaning and purpose. We may begin by considering the initiation ceremony described on pp. 180–3. Laying special stress upon the fact that the terrifying threats of the spirits against the candidates are apparently averted by the

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probably much more often—the effect which he attributes to his medicine, i.e. the *jipari*, is due to a complex of excitement, bad example, and betel-nut.

As certain medicines are prescribed for the Taro man either to increase his own power or else to be transmitted by him to the taro itself, so on the other hand there are many restrictions placed upon him for negative, but similar, reasons. He is in fact dieted with some strictness, and the reasons which govern these food taboos are worth considering. In a great majority of cases the man who observes the taboo is completely ignorant of any logical basis for it: he has learnt it by rote, so to speak, having received it as part of the cult from his instructor, and not only has he never heard a sensible argument in its favour, but, if taxed for such an argument, can think of none save *ad verecundiam*. But sometimes one meets a native with a spark of imagination. The explanations which he may give of the taboos are not necessarily the original ones, but notwithstanding they are typical native explanations, and at least as good as the original. A few examples will show what real grounds there are for the prohibitions. *Pauri*, the cuscus, is forbidden because of the yellowish colour of its fur, dappled with brown spots. Should the Taro man eat *Pauri* it is likely that the taro leaf will develop similar properties instead of keeping the rich green colour which is indicative of health. *Auja*, the red pandanus seed, and *sasaru*, a kind of frog, are tabooed for the same reason. It was explained that the frog, when cooked, is of a yellow-brown colour which is unwholesome not so much for the Taro man as for the taro. *Awbe*, or sago, was avoided in some quarters because the roots at the butt of the palm are often exposed in a way that is not desirable for the taro tuber. *Imbaga* the crocodile, *votomo* a kind of flat fish, and *obiti* the eel were 'too heavy'. The idea of weight seems to be associated very commonly with sickness, and it is felt that the Taro man who ate creatures in which this quality is so obviously embodied, would be endangering his power of healing.

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X 794 784 ● 262 powers of healing. There are many more food taboos. Some of them may well enough be survivals from the *Baigona* cult (which placed a prohibition upon almost all creeping things), as they appear to have no very obvious bearing on Taro. Certain kinds of the taro itself were held to be injurious—only so, indeed, since the institution of the cult, for previously these forbidden varieties were eaten without any untoward result; Mr. Elder says they were given to his mission boys, 'who being unbelievers thrived on them'.

X 794 784 515 753 The taboo upon bathing has already been mentioned. It was evidently observed with a certain strictness and, in some cases at least, a breach of the taboo meant more than the mere loss of power. One Taro man of importance gave the following explanation for a lameness in the knee which had crippled him for eight months. Having used his spear too effectively in a village fight he was removed to jail, and there, under a regimen which took no heed of his priestly obligations, compelled to cut his hair and wash the smears of mud and white ochre off his body. The unfortunate prisoner's explanation still leaves one mystified: the dirt, mud, and paint being washed off the remainder of his body, concentrated in his knee and there brought on his lameness.

X 794 576 One important business of the Taro man's, viz. that of curing, will receive a fuller treatment in section 9, and is mentioned here only because it has to be included in a general list of Taro activities. A few additional matters of minor interest, however, may be referred to at this stage. One is the custom of hand-shaking. I am assured that the hand-grip was known as a form of greeting long before the advent of the new cult; but now it has become a rage. When a Taro man comes upon a number of men engaged in conversation and sitting, after their fashion, in a haphazard group on the ground, he will go from one to another and take the hand of each in turn. As a rule the hand-clasp is somewhat limp and unresponsive, though on occasion one may see two

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133 illuminated to its depths by a broad shaft of sunshine, no more charming stream could be imagined than the upper Opi in dry weather. But if overnight the thunder has been very loud in the hills, the next morning may see the Opi a brown swirling flood, bearing along uprooted trees and piling them one upon another against every obstacle. It will soon overflow its deep banks, and the surrounding bush is submerged and impassable. One may be astonished, passing along a dry track some few days after such a flood, to find a raft or canoe left high and dry among the trees, or to see, head-high on the trunks and leaves, traces of mud left by the last inundation.

The water will subside rapidly with very little damage done. The occasional flood is rather welcomed than feared, for it is the hunter's opportunity. The small [224] game of the forest—rats, hedgehogs, the little marsupial called *Aisi*—are driven from their shelters and are easy prey for the native dogs. There are shallow depressions and hollows which in flood-time become water-courses, [226] and in these men and women are using their scoop-nets or setting their cage-like traps for the insignificant fish which are making their way back to the river with the falling water. Last and least there are the frogs who 'come down from the trees' in the flood-time, to be finally caught in the hands of the women. Sometimes the flood does some damage in the garden; but the water rises and falls so quickly and withal so steadily that it does little actual violence, and the taro seems quite able to survive a submergence. On the whole we are prone to over-estimate the ill effects of the flood in this district.

132 A far more serious affliction is the occasional drought. 262 After a long spell of fine weather the garden ground becomes dry and hard; the taro leaves droop and the young shoots die off. Even the swamps subside and sago-making is made difficult by lack of water. The hunting of small game and the fishing in creeks are hindered. The result of all this may be a real scarcity. To eke out their supplies the people will have recourse to fern fronds,

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edible leaves, and roots gathered in the bush, and will fall back on sago, which is plentiful by the coast but rare in the interior. Though there is sometimes scarcity and a certain amount of hardship, these are never, I believe, very prolonged; and they never approach to genuine famine.

Dry weather, like wet weather, may, when it is inconvenient, be ascribed to the machinations of a sorcerer. If a man go a journey and be overtaken by torrents of rain which compel him to build a bush shelter and wait, he is likely to say, 'My enemy so-and-so must have done this; he knew I wished to travel.' So when the fine weather lasts so long as to become a plague, people will bethink themselves of some sinister old man and say, 'he has made sun medicine and is keeping the bamboo "bottle" in the heat over his fire.' The people of 'Wire Rope' on the river Kumusi had a singular reputation (which they were perhaps careful to maintain) for sun-magic. There are many rain-makers and many methods of rain-making. Where the dry weather is a mere whim of Nature's, they will avail; where it is the result of sorcery, they can do nothing. At any rate the long dry spell is unwelcome weather to the Orokaiva.

Before proceeding to the principal occupation and support of the people, viz. gardening, one may dismiss with a brief mention the other phases of the food quest.

As hunters the Orokaiva are always opportunists. No man travels through the real bush without his spears and his dog, if he possess one. He is extraordinarily alert to detect his game, be it bush-pig, rat, or lizard, and will spare himself no trouble to capture the most insignificant quarry. Communally he hunts with the long net, into which the pig or wallaby is driven through the bush by a semicircle of beaters, while some stand ready behind the net with their spears. The grass plains are burnt off yearly, and yield a variety of game, from pigs and pythons to ground-rats.

The common hunting-traps are (1) *Bagi*, in which the unsuspicious pig, nosing at his bait of sago pith, releases

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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224 a trigger and lever and brings down a weight of logs on his back; (2) *Hoto*, a concealed pit, the bottom of which is abristle with spear-points; and (3) *Kombu bagi*, a close array of sloping spear-points on the inner side of a gap in the garden fence, so called because the pig, having leapt unwarily through the gap, finds himself transfixed through the *kombu*, or liver. There is an ingenious trap known as *Ibive* for small wallabies, consisting of a noose, a sapling bent to the ground, and a trigger. The trigger is released, the sapling springs upright, and the wallaby is, or ought to be, dangling in the noose. There are many other interesting methods which cannot [267] be described here of catching cuscus, bats, rats, birds, and lizards, all such creatures being held at their proper value as diet by the Orokaiva.

231 The native is of course a pig-keeper, and one who is constantly obtaining fresh recruits for domestication in 262 the shape of captive sucking-pigs from the bush. But pigs are meant for feasts and ceremonies; there is no regular supply of butcher's meat. When all is said and done, meat food is to the Orokaiva, like many another keen hunter, rather a dainty than a diet.

227 In fishing there is some variety of methods. The inland people rely mainly on various forms of scoop-nets which are used in shallow creeks. They also poison fish with the plant known as 'New Guinea Dynamite'. The river people use in addition a kind of stationary trap called *sirava*, and the coast dwellers, besides all these, have the common triangular hand-net *yako* and a drag-net *komboru*. In fishing, as in hunting, there are many other contrivances which cannot be dealt with here. On the whole (except in the case of the coastal people) it is of minor importance as a means of subsistence.

262 Another resource of much greater importance is sago. The river people, i.e. principally the Binandele, who live along the lower reaches of the Gira, Mambare, and Kumusi, have almost inexhaustible supplies to draw upon; and, except among the bush dwellers in the south-

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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western part of the Division, it cannot be said that sago is anywhere scarce. The mode of preparation is simple and expeditious: it consists in kneading and watering the pith which has been scraped from the trunk, in allowing the sago to be carried off in suspension, and in leaving it to settle in a trough. The apparatus is prepared almost wholly from parts of the sago palm itself, and, except for the scraper and a strainer or sieve of coco-nut fibre, may be extemporized on the spot. The finished product is known as 'wet' sago, being a solid block of which the surface is hardened and glazed by scorching. The natives do not find it necessary to dry the product for their own use, and probably know nothing of the process. In the inland districts where the trees are sometimes individually owned sago is highly prized, and young palms, I am told, may be transplanted. In the large swamps the system is one of clan ownership, and as far as I know there is no sort of culture of the palms.

As a collector the Orokaiva is again an opportunist. Only in time of scarcity, it would appear, does he or his wife go out expressly to gather fern fronds and leaves—the pidgin English 'cabbage'; but wherever he goes he keeps his eye open for food—honey (for which he will fell a tree and smoke out the bees), clusters of somewhat insipid wild figs, nuts, snails, even a nest of flying ants.

He has certain trees, however, which afford a regular supply of food, viz. bread-fruit in several varieties, the *Tauga* nut, and the cycad *Puga*. The bush does not abound in fruit: of the numerous representatives of the genus *Ficus* only a few are edible, none very tempting, and the wild mango is comparatively rare. There are some poisonous fruits and plants, chief among them the creeper called 'New Guinea Dynamite', used by the natives for fishing and suicides. But they have definite opinions as to what may be eaten and what must be left alone, being presumably brought up to this knowledge. I have seen a little child scolded for mouthing a leaf of 'New Guinea Dynamite' growing in the village. Although

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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137 edible fruits are rare, there is a very fine red or yellow
262 ball called *Hega* which is plentiful and which annoys the thirsty traveller by its resemblance to an orange. It is in fact, as the natives say, only food for devils.

3. *Garden Products: their Introduction and Distribution*

244 The products of native horticulture in the Northern Division may be roughly classified. The list opposite is fairly complete in the more important items.

In addition to the list there are some garden herbs and plants used as spinach, or flavouring to the cooked taro. The native names of the most important, as far as I know them, are *Ombi*, *Taramu*, and *Nyaditi*. Lastly,
247 there is a list of ornamental plants—croton in countless varieties, striated dracaena, crimson amaranth, and flame-coloured or magenta coxcombs—which add much to the brightness and charm of a village or a sunny garden-clearing, and which have in some cases a magical as well as an ornamental value; and besides these a number of scented plants which a native loves for their own sake and for the seductive fragrance which is meant to make him an irresistible lover.

244 If we select the products which are of real importance to the Orokaiva they will make a much shorter list. They
245 are taro (the staple diet), yams, and sweet potatoes (both of them no more than subsidiary), *ina* and sugar-cane, bananas and plantains, coco-nut and betel palms.

244 The Orokaiva are essentially taro people. The plant is grown universally and in a great number of varieties.[1] It is easily cultivated, nutritious, and, prepared by a native housewife, very appetizing. The cook's habit of
252 spraying condiments out of her mouth over the pot may daunt the inquisitive European who would otherwise be willing to sample her work, but there is no denying

[1] I have the names of seventeen varieties, distinguishable by various properties of leaf, stalk, tuber, &c. There are no doubt many more. Codrington notes the great variety of taro. Of yams, incidentally, he listed no less than eighty varieties in the small island of Mota (Codrington, *Melanesians*, pp. 304, 319).

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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concerned discarded individual practices in favour of co-operation; or, more strictly, changed from the worship of individual ghosts to the worship of the "Food-Spirit." The Kava-Keva is, I understand, positively a new idea, and not an attempt to revive old customs. Whilst observing the Kava-Keva rites on the second occasion I invited Mr Copland King, a clergyman of the Anglican Mission, to attend with me, and he has since written a paper on the subject. Mr King and I are the only Europeans who witnessed the beginning of the Kava-Keva rites, and I alone witnessed the beginning of the Kekesi rites. The following account of the two cults is based upon information supplied to me by Boninia and Bia at the inception.

1. THE "KAVA-KEVA" RITES.—Boninia is an elderly native of Taututu, one of the villages of the Dowai-ia division of the Binandere tribe, on the lower Mamba River. He was a man of no reputation as a magician or prophet. Early, however, in 1914 he visited the other villages of his group—Gauoro (on the coast), Duvira, and Tsiu (up the river)—and announced that he had been "struck down" in his garden by the "Spirit of Taro" (the staple diet). He had been told, he said, to warn the people that their dilatory methods of cultivation had given displeasure, and that unless they observed a ritual which had been taught to him, the "Food-Spirit" would destroy their gardens and force them to live on sago. Boninia's message was received without enthusiasm, and the ritual was declined. Nothing more came of the incident until the following November, when a young girl named Dasiga, of the village of Gauoro, developed a condition of mental abnormality. For a day or two she was quite oblivious of her surroundings, and chanted mechanically a new song, which was identified as part of the ritual disclosed by the man Boninia. In response to the request of the people Boninia examined the girl, and, in conformity with his advice, she was taken into the gardens, and there, amongst the taro leaves, as he had foretold, the "Spirit left her," and she recovered her normal state. Two or three days later she returned to her village. Then, almost immediately, she relapsed into her Kava-Keva condition, and simultaneously one other Gauoro girl and four young men "were visited by the Spirit." A second messenger to Boninia found that the "sickness" had appeared in each of the villages of the group, and that several natives were "possessed" and under treatment by Boninia. The headmen of the group were considerably alarmed, and called a meeting in Gauoro. Here those who had been "visited" disclosed the communica-